125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility
●166 which had already been noted for the adat community head and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

124 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] [621] Living Conditions

Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

123 576 Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 514] hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 [576] The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular [166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
• 166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

> 1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

612 621 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

166 178 621 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed to the development of this situation should be pointed out. These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

> 2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government 621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made 648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries 631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556 joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

612 To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
● [166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
[162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

● 166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Ana'lyst]

166 /50 cont./ thirdly, colonizations. The latter refers to the movements of Makassarese to Buginese districts. /51/

162 621 166 1. The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth

Of the 803 residents of kampong Bontoramba on July 1, 1949, 207 were born outside the kampong. Almost 75 per cent of the total therefore lived in their native kampong (1).

1. Sorokin, in his work Social Mobility (pp. 381 ff.) compares the territorial circulation of individuals in societies of western Europe with that in India. His book was published in 1927, and his figures are a quarter of a century old. From these figures it appears that in West Europe of that time, specifically in France, 57.2 per cent of the rural population was born in the district where it resided at the moment of registration. For India, on the other hand, according to the census of 1901, this percentage was more than 90 per cent. Sorokin draws the conclusion, which moreover was established upon the basis of numerous other data, that western Europe displayed a much greater territorial mobility than India.

Of the 207, 119 were born outside Bontoramba but within the adat community of Borongloë; the rest, 88, or approximately

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

162 The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
166 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
612 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
621 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group. The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloe	Born Outside Borongloe but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa	
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2	
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20	
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8	
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30	

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8 respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

[125]

I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house/holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans-migrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

[125]

1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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/55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity. Experience teaches that in another environment such naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

> 1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him. 584 834

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans. 125

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba [slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's. 565 558 567

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school. 855

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 567 558 166 152 000

Bukaka, September 7, 1949. First day: I went to the house of the Kepala kampong and began going over the schedule with Andi and the teachers and a few of the boys. Andi has a big empty map on which he will work. He is scared of the census-taking so I told him to start on Bukaka proper in which there are more than a hundred houses. This should be a good sample. He is a slow worker. He said he was having much trouble getting the common people to speak. The Kepala kampong is cooperative and so are the teachers and a few others. But the rest say that they don't know. He is irritated and he said that the Bone people get scared of everything. He said that he did not know why. Perhaps it is the government, but no reason is sure. Later Thierens said that maybe this was because they were scared of Andi, who represents the radja class. I think perhaps he was right. It would have been better if I had got a common man from the kampong to do this job. We got a lot of probably only approximately accurate information regarding the population. 124

Evidently, few people leave per year and the population is relatively stable though seemingly on the increase numerically to a slight degree. Those who leave are mainly unmarried men. When they leave they go mostly to other places on Celebes. From this place there are no contract coolies and few sailors (compare this with Makassar and the kampongs near Makassar). Many of those who go away return as they say it is pleasanter and more pleasing to live in the kampong. They complain of the crowds of people outside. Also they can always get food here. (But this information is derived from the returnees, and perhaps those who have not returned would tell quite a different story.) Those who have returned to the village say that they have no trouble refitting into the kampong life. As for property and so forth, those who had it mostly had families and had left property with them while they were away. There is no noticeable resistance to anyone leaving the village. 166

The section on migration was really quite unsatisfactory. 167

As for immigration and information on visitors it appears that even fewer individuals have come into the kampong in the last fifty years. There are a few Chinese, Arabs, Toradja, as well as a very few Makassarese. There are also a few Javans. Family relations seem to be important in this respect. Very few people go away regularly, just as very few people visit regularly. Immigrants fit in easily if they are Mohammedan, but it takes a while. But the Toradja stay apart, as do the Chinese. Several Toradja work for Chinese. And 563

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Walboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informants when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Petta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have